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AN HISTORICAL COMMENTARY OF EDMOND  
ROSTAND'S L'AIGLON

BY

RUTH LORENA LEWMAN

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY  
SUPERVISION BY Ruth Lorena Lewman  
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THE DEGREE OF Master of Arts

*K. M. Kempin*

In Charge of Thesis

*K. M. Kempin*

Head of Department

Recommendation concurred in\*

*Thomas E. Oliver*


Committee

on

Final Examination\*

\*Required for doctor's degree but not for master's

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## I. ROSTAND AND THE DRAMA.

Edmond Rostand, poet and dramatist, was born at Marseilles on April 1, 1868. His father was a man of wealth and culture, and a classical scholar. Edmond went to school in Marseilles and later in Paris where he studied law. Although he received the degree of licencié, his main efforts were directed to literature. Very early he showed a taste for poetry and in 1890 brought out les Musardises. That same year he published a little comedy, les Deux Pierrots. Subsequently appeared les Romanesques (1894), la Princesse Lointaine (1895), la Samaritaine (1897), Cyrano de Bergerac (1897), l'Aiglon (1900), and Chantecler (1910). After l'Aiglon, on account of his poor health, he built a home in the Pyrenees where he lived most of the time until his death, December 2, 1918. In 1890 he married Rosemonde Gérard, who was also a poet. In 1901 he was elected to the French Academy, and in 1911 he became commander of the Legion of Honor.

"Les Musardises are the poems of a young man expressing his feeling for the need of spiritual and emotional freedom. He delighted in light and air, color and contour. He reveled in the rapid alternation of feelings involved in the change of mood and the mingling of the sentimental and the witty:

'Je vais jouant du triste et du gai tout ensemble...

Mais toujours cependant qu'il [his heart] fait sa plainte  
sourde,

Sifflote mon esprit, ce galoubet moqueur!'



More than all he showed how he prized the power of the spirit and the heart to protect him against material realities and the mockery of disillusion:

'Ce qu'il faut pouvoir, ce qu'il faut savoir,

C'est garder son rêve...

C'est d'avoir des yeux qui voyant le laid,

Voient le beau quand même;

C'est savoir rester, parmi ce qu'on hait

Avec ce qu'on aime.'

While developing them further, Rostand always remained true to these early characteristics. In his later work we find an imagination kindled by the senses, and sometimes even serving to stimulate them, a need of emotion both gay and sad, and the unfailing conviction that living is made worth while only by man's disinterested devotion to his dreams.<sup>1</sup> We find his more important dramas working out this early ideal. Garder son rêve, voir le beau quand même are the purpose and achievement of his heroes.

His whole idea as a writer was absolutely irreconcilable to the prevailing love of blague in France, which was insupportable to him. He was disgusted with the cynicism, sensuality, and mockery that seemed the only representation of French literature. The determinism and naturalism of Sardou, Augier, and Dumas fils were alike distasteful to this immaterial singer of dreams quand même. He was more advanced than the old in drama, more conservative than

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Spiers, A. G. H., in the Introduction of his edition of Cyrano de Bergerac, pp. x-xi.





the new, and belonged to no particular school. Despite the prevailing materialism, there was a current in music, painting, philosophy, and literature which had already started to make a closer contact between the soul and the exterior world on the one hand and imagination on the other; and to make an appeal to the emotions and the feelings rather than to the mind. It is evident that Rostand belongs to this current, both by his protest against materialism and disillusionment, and by his praise and observance of the lyric life.

There was harmony between this protest and praise, and the manner in which Rostand composed his dramas. His intentions and aspirations gave birth to a new technic. No dramatist of Rostand's ability and popularity has succeeded in producing plays composed so exclusively of lyric idealism. In his Discours on the needs of the modern stage he said, "Il faut un théâtre où, exaltant avec du lyrisme, moralisant avec de la beauté, consolant avec de la grace, les poètes, sans le faire exprès, donnent des leçons d'âme." There is a definite philosophy, a certain principle of human action, underlying all his work. He has endowed his main characters with definite traits, yet he doesn't believe he can determine exactly the effect of the contact of these characters. He believes in the power of suggestion, especially of contagion. "All his typical heroes are exuberant, borne along by the urge of an inner pressure to glorify material aspirations. They do not argue, they do not prove, they have no tangible well defined action upon...the character acting opposite them, yet their influence on those about them is great, and in each play there appears by the



side of the hero another personage...turned away from a conventionally material or frivolous conception of life by association with this hero and the human appeal of his enthusiasm." <sup>1</sup> Even in failure, his heroes are optimistic, triumphant. They live as ideals, for Rostand has made his work an appeal to our mind, feeling, and imagination. He has transfigured reality. His dominating power is his imagination, the imagination of interpreting things, not of inventing them. He has made his heroes radiant with an ideal life; he has endowed them with a keenness of thought, a nobility of feeling, a beauty of action which we all experience in ourselves in our best moments.

For Rostand, life is a reflection of the soul and he makes the soul the heroine of his theater. His works have a sublime, emotional, thrilling, transporting power. For indeed his world is transported to a spiritual plane. There is something almost holy in the way Rudel, Cyrano, Chantecler, and the duc de Reichstadt transcend the material with their infectious idealism. These personages give courage to meet life with exaltation of soul. Their spirit has dominated the misery of life and adorned it with the magic of their ideal. All material grossness, physical or moral ugliness, all the evil one does or experiences disappears in the land of story, in these dream characters, in the brilliant thoughts of these great spirits. At bottom, we find in his work the cult of wise gaiety, of courageous effort, of enthusiastic

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Spiers, A. G. H., in the Introduction of his edition of Cyrano de Bergerac, pp. xvii-xviii.





faith, of idealistic love, and of heroic sacrifice. Opposed to these noble conditions of the soul is the opposite condition. There is always this contrast of the ideal and the material, with the triumph of the ideal. That is the Chanson de Rostand. Rostand teaches the soul without seeming to do so as a dogmatic dictator. In his masterpieces he spoke directly to the conscience, the spirit, and the religious life of man. There was universal acclaim of his work, which only proved that under all the materialism and selfishness and baseness of the human race, there is a Soul. The world over, his dramas have awakened in theater-goers a sympathy for that which is altruistic and idealistic, and a dislike for the selfish and the material.<sup>1</sup>

Garder son rêve, voir le beau quand même. This is as true of les Romanesques as of l'Aiglon, of la Princesse Lointaine, as of Chantecler or Cyrano. Percinet and Sylvette continue to love each other with all the romance of their adventurous courtship, even after they have learned that their adventures were planned by their shrewd fathers, who hoped by this means to bring them together; they will keep their dreams, quand même. Similarly Chantecler insists quand même on believing to the end in the usefulness of his mission. Although he is disillusioned when he  
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Literary criticism is not all enthusiastic about Rostand. Emile Faguet was bored with much of l'Aiglon. Although he could see its good points, he objected to the long speeches, the repetition of ideas, and the lack of development in the characters; see his Propos de Théâtre, vol. 4, pp. 354-360. Haraszti also gave some unfavorable criticism; for that on l'Aiglon in particular, see his Edmond Rostand, pp. 148-192.



learns his crowing cannot wake the dawn, he takes heart in the fact that at least he can rouse mankind to greet the sun. Underlying the whole allegory of Chantecler is the call to faith and enthusiasm, the indomitable courage of the worker, the glory of singing, and the aspiration that makes it glorious, together with the everlasting triumph of idealism over disillusion. Chantecler is the intense idealist whose mission is light and truth. His soul is aglow with deep human sympathies and his great purpose is to dispel the night. He learns the greatest of all truths, that "it is the struggle for, rather than the attainment of the ideal which must forever inspire the honest idealist."<sup>1</sup> He learns too, that

"Il faut un rossignol toujours dans la forêt,

Et dans l'âme une foi si bien habituée,

Qu'elle y revienne encore après qu'on l'a tuée."<sup>2</sup>

La Princesse Lointaine is the story of Rudel, an ultra-romantic idealist, who turns his heart to the far-away princess to escape from a world which he finds impossible to love. He lives his life in quest of this ideal, ever faithful to the ideal of the princess whom he does not see until just before he dies. In contrast to his intense idealism is opposed the materialism of Squarciafico and Erasme. The story is symbolic of the "eternal aspiration of mankind toward the ideal; he loves it on the strength of what he

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<sup>1</sup> Goldman, The Social Significance of the Modern Drama, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Chantecler, Act IV., Sc. 7; Cf. Suberville, le Théâtre d'Edmond Rostand, p. 75.





imagines it to be, he risks all he possesses to attain it, but his strength fails as he nears the goal, and at the very moment he is about to reach it, death lays him low. Happy, nevertheless, he who, like Rudel, sees his dreams realized for one instant, even though it be the last, and who dies <sup>1</sup>carrying away on his lips the kiss for which he has given his life." In Cyrano de Bergerac he has created a character which, although chosen from history, has become an ideal. His soul is hidden behind a grotesque physical exterior. He loves, but is ugly and suffers because his desires can never be realized. There is the conflict between the soul and the physical. Cyrano is successful, even in his failure, for Roxane realizes it is the soul of Cyrano, not of Christian, which she loves. Cyrano is love and chivalry, poetry, mirth, and courage; he is also poverty, want, abandonment, and worldly failure. This hero of dreams and immaterial aspirations becomes a man after our own hearts; and "there lingers with us a sufficient glimmer of his vision to shed, temporarily at least, a new light upon life and change our sense of the relative values of our own skepticism and Rostand's idealism."<sup>2</sup>

In l'Aiglon, too, Rostand has presented us with a character dominated with a passion he cannot realize. The duc de Reichstadt is an idealist of the first order struggling against a destiny

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<sup>1</sup>  
Quoted from Gaston Paris by Borgerhoff, in the Introduction of his edition of la Princesse Lointaine, pp. vi-vii.

<sup>2</sup>  
Spiers, A. G. H., in Introduction of his edition of Cyrano, p. xxv.



he cannot conquer. Metternich represents the opposing force, the physical. It is he who constantly forces the duke to think of his Austrian heritage of weakness, he who makes the Austrian environment so difficult for the prince. The soul of the duke triumphs even in the face of the defeat of his ambitions. He will die in expiation of the losses made for his father's success since he cannot<sup>1</sup> live to regain his father's power.  
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<sup>1</sup>  
Cf. chapter IV of this study for further discussion.





## II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF L'AIGLON.

The familiar and ever interesting story of Napoleon's régime with its roots in the French Revolution, and of the later reactionary program of Metternich in Austria as the practical dictator in Europe, makes the historical background of Rostand's drama l'Aiglon. The hero is Napoleon's son, the Duke of Reichstadt, whom history curtly mentions as a "young prince, half-Habsburg and half-Bonaparte, who was destined to drag out a weary and futile existence among enemies and spies." <sup>1</sup> Napoleon, the obscure Corsican with his peculiar genius and power had come into France at an opportune time and had taken the lead in perpetuating the reforms of the French Revolution. The old régime of absolutism and social injustice, poverty and suffering of the masses had been shattered. The Republic had been declared in 1792. France was then for a time in anarchy. The European powers, afraid, had joined in coalition against her. Republican efficiency had dispelled the trouble, and, in order to silence the enemies of the Republic, had brought on the Reign of Terror in 1794. In 1795 the first Republican Constitution had been drawn up and the executive power vested in a board of five directors which lasted until 1799.

In 1796 Napoleon, until this time not conspicuous in politics or in war, married Joséphine de Beauharnais, the widow of a revolutionary general and an intimate friend of one of the Direc-

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<sup>1</sup>

Hayes, vol. 1, p. 555.



tors. This marriage "bettered his chances of indulging his fond-<sup>1</sup>ness for politics and his genius for war." In 1796 and 1797 Napoleon's successful campaign into Italy made him suddenly the most talked of man in Europe; applauded by the people, feared by the government. As respect for the Directors decreased, trust in Napoleon's strength increased. The Directoire planned the Egyptian Campaign in 1798, which sent Napoleon to Egypt. Although this campaign was not decisive, it was spectacular, and he gained immensely in personal reputation. During this time a second coalition against France had been made, and the French were hard pressed. On his return France was no longer prosperous and victorious, but bankrupt and defeated. His trip to Paris was a triumphal procession and it was only a step to the overthrow of the Directory, the establishment of the Consulate, and his election as First Consul in 1799, which virtually ended the war and supplanted democracy with militarism.

Certain characteristic qualities of the young general, as well as the opportunity offered at that time in French politics, were responsible for his remarkable success. "His supreme quality, the quality which endeared him to the French masses as did no other quality, was that of untiring industry; laborious, self-initiated, self-guided, self-improving industry."<sup>2</sup> He was thoroughly con-

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<sup>1</sup>  
Hayes, vol. 1, p. 514.

<sup>2</sup>  
Sloane, W. M., "The Life of Napoleon Bonaparte," vol. 4, p. 247.





vinced of his own abilities, ambitious, selfish, egotistic, always planning how he might become world-famous. He was a keen observer and a clever critic. He was a politician to the extent of being unscrupulous. But he was human, a man of the people, and made himself the idol of his soldiers.

From 1799 to 1814 the history of Europe was the history of France, the biography of Napoleon Bonaparte. From 1799 to 1804 the country remained a republic, during which time Napoleon consolidated his power and fashioned the nature of the lasting gains of the Revolution. "He took the revolutionary ideas of political, civil, and religious emancipation: with these he commingled both his own sound sense and the experience of advisers from every class, realizing as much of civil liberty and good order as appears to have been practical at the moment."<sup>1</sup> From 1804 to 1814 France was an empire, maintained by military force, during which period Napoleon, self-crowned Napoleon I, emperor of the French, by means of war, conquest, annexation, or alliance spread the ideas of his country far and wide.

He reached the pinnacle of his fame in 1808, and was emperor of an enormous territory with practically all of Europe at his feet. A third coalition begun in 1805 had not been able to overthrow him. Although Great Britain remained mistress of the sea, she lost on land. In 1805 Napoleon's army administered an overwhelming and humiliating defeat to Austria at Austerlitz. In 1806

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<sup>1</sup>  
Sloane, vol. 4, p. 260.



they defeated Prussia at Jena, in 1807 Russia at Friedland, and in 1808 they defeated Sweden. From then on, his power began to show signs of waning. He met his first serious opposition in Spain when the people resisted and precipitated the Peninsular war which lasted until 1813. Austria took heart from this and rebelled, only to suffer another humiliating defeat at Wagram in 1809. This was a hard-fought, bloody battle, which, though not a rout like Austerlitz, was sufficiently decisive for Austria to accept an armistice and sign a treaty, by the terms of which she lost heavily in territory and in money. Shortly afterward, Napoleon secured a divorce from Josephine and arranged a marriage with Marie Louise, the daughter of Emperor Francis I of Austria. The first marriage would have been completely happy had there been an heir. It was frankly to secure an heir that Napoleon married Marie Louise in 1810. He hoped also that this alliance would conciliate Austria, but though outwardly friendly, Austria remained hostile at heart. When at last a son was born, all of France rejoiced. The father's joy and pride were unbounded. The child received the proud appellation of King of Rome.

Meanwhile the reaction against Napoleon increased. In 1812 relations with Russia were broken, and Napoleon suffered a terrible reverse that winter in his retreat after having occupied Moscow. A final coalition which included Austria precipitated the crucial Battle of the Nations at Leipzig in 1813, which marked the collapse of Napoleon's power outside of France. Not content with peace, but seeking a decisive victory, Napoleon pressed on only

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Marie Louise (1791-1847).





to be finally defeated, when the Austrians invaded France in 1814. It was only after much stubborn fighting that Napoleon finally surrendered. At Paris he signed a personal treaty by which he abdicated his throne and renounced all rights to France for himself and his family, and, in return, was guaranteed full sovereignty of the island of Elba, and an annual pension of two million francs for himself; the Italian duchy of Parma was conferred upon the Empress Marie Louise and pensions of two and one half million francs were promised for members of his family. The Bourbons were then restored in France with Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI, as King.

At Elba, Napoleon, although supreme ruler, felt practically an outcast; letters to his wife and son were intercepted, and his revenue held back. Filled with these grievances, and aware that France was discontented with the Bourbons and that the nations were quarreling among themselves, Napoleon planned his escape. On March 1, 1815 he landed at Cannes with an army of eleven hundred men. From there he set out for the North, and was joined on the way by hundreds of the peasantry. By the time he reached Grenoble he was received with great enthusiasm by everyone, even the soldiers of the King. From there to Paris, his way was easy. The people thronged to his side; for them he was the apostle of nationality and popular sovereignty over France. The King's forces deserted him, and he fled the country. Napoleon immediately turned to the business of internal affairs, but was interrupted by the specter of foreign war. The European dynasties forgot their differences and joined to extirpate the Napoleonic régime as a measure of self-



defense. They rushed troops against the French, and on June 18, 1815 at Waterloo, Napoleon was defeated. His reign of a Hundred Days was ended a few days later, when on June 22 he abdicated in favor of his son, whom he proclaimed Emperor of the French with the title of Napoleon II. On July 15 he surrendered himself to the English, who sent him, a prisoner, into exile on the island of Saint Helena, where he died on May 5, 1821. Already at the time of his death his history had begun to assume the form of a legend. "The more his memory was revered as the noble martyr of Saint Helena, the more truth withdrew into the background, and fiction stepped into the limelight. His holocausts of human life were forgotten, only the glory, the unconquerable prowess of his arms was remembered. From a selfish despot Napoleon was returning to his mightier, if humbler position, as a child of the people."<sup>1</sup>

The era from 1815 to 1830 in Europe is known as the era of Metternich.<sup>2</sup> This statesman was of a distinguished family and had risen rapidly to a position of great political importance, not only in Austria where he was prime minister with free sway under Francis I, but in all of Europe, where thanks to his well-planned and careful diplomacy, he became practical arbiter after Napoleon's withdrawal. In 1814-5 he had dominated the Congress of Vienna which had assembled to settle territorial problems. The Quadruple Alliance of 1815 organized to preserve peace and order had been wholly under his dictation. From the first he had disliked the  
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<sup>1</sup>  
Hayes, p. 573.

<sup>2</sup>  
Metternich (1773-1859).





French Revolution and hated Napoleon. His whole influence was consequently lent to the conservative and reactionary side in an effort to stem the ideas of the Revolution and perpetuate the old régime.

In France the Bourbon king, Louis XVIII, sat on a rather insecure throne between two antagonistic parties, the Royalists and the Liberals. At his death in 1824 after a reign of moderation, the ultra-Royalists, who had been gradually increasing in power, became dominant with a decidedly reactionary program when Charles X, brother of Louis XVIII, became king. The reactionary rule of the new king soon became exceedingly unpopular. Men of business, Napoleonic veterans, and Liberal idealists arrayed themselves against his régime. Incensed, Charles issued the July ordinances which brought on the July Revolution of 1830 and caused his abdication in favor of his grandson. This ended divine-right monarchy in France. Republican and Liberal bourgeoisie were about to have an armed conflict when Louis-Philippe was acclaimed king. This reign is known as the Orleans monarchy. Although he belonged to a collateral branch of the Bourbons, he did not share their political principles. The tricolor replaced the white flag, and popular sovereignty the theory of monarchical absolutism.



### III. THE DUKE OF REICHSTADT IN HISTORY.

Let us now turn to the personal history of the little King of Rome, for whom such a glorious future had been planned, but who was destined to play such a negligible part in the affairs of the world.<sup>1</sup>

When Napoleon had been sentenced to Elba, Emperor Francis had asked that Marie Louise and her son be brought to Austria. Accordingly they went to Schoenbrunn, where they lived as members of the Imperial household of Francis I. Marie Louise's position was a very difficult one. She had been the victim of the political ambitions of two ruthless emperors; she had been sacrificed by the one to favor his country, bought by the other to bear him a son, and incidentally, ally him with Austria. At first she was accused of planning secretly with her husband. Political intrigue strove at estranging her from Napoleon, and succeeded. She was, in her father's eyes, and in the eyes of Metternich, not an Austrian Arch-  
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<sup>1</sup>

The material for this history of the duke is taken from Wertheimer, The Duke of Reichstadt. The table of contents is as follows:

- I. Napoleon's Second Marriage
- II. Birth of King of Rome
- III. Downfall of the Empire
- IV. Prince of Parma
- V. Attempted Abduction of Prince
- VI. Napoleon II
- VII. The Duke of Reichstadt
- VIII. The Duke of Reichstadt's Education
- IX. The Political Situation of The Duke of Reichstadt
- X. Illness and Death
- XI. Characteristics





duchess, daughter of Emperor Francis, but the wife of Napoleon, who, though in exile, was most dangerous to the welfare of all of Europe. Count Neipperg, appointed especially to watch her correspondence and see that she did the will of Metternich and Francis, soon won her favor and entirely supplanted her husband. All means were used to foster their intimate relationship in order to make it impossible for her to act without his entire sanction, which would always accord with the views of her father. Later, she was secretly married to Neipperg and lived afterwards in Parma, most of the time separated from her son.

Her interests were like a ball, tossed about at the will of the allies. Intrigue after intrigue endangered her property. She put herself and her child wholly into the hands of her father, trusting him entirely. But Metternich was absolutely unscrupulous concerning Marie Louise's interests. All of his political moves in the so-called interests of the peace of Europe were made at no matter what cost to the interests of Marie Louise and her son. She was gradually deprived of everything that would remind her of her former position, of everything French, even of her title. Finally she was bluntly told that her son could not succeed her to the Duchy of Parma. She was too completely dominated to rebel, and acceded, sacrificing her son's interest out of filial duty; for to her, the universal good ranked higher than private interest.

Austria, step by step, divested the child of his title, striving to reduce him to the rank of any private citizen without political importance. However, Marie Louise did insist upon assuring her son's future position as a rich private gentleman. In 1818



she succeeded, and a decree was passed declaring him to be the Duke of Reichstadt, and insuring him considerable property and a good income. The severest measures were taken to separate him from all of the Napoleonists and their followers.

Some of the enemies of the Napoleonic dynasty wanted the young prince's political identity eradicated. There were suggestions made that he should be forbidden marriage, or that he should be consecrated to the Church. Austria was fair, however, in the education provided for the young prince. Although she robbed him of his heritage and made him, who should have been brought up a Frenchman, into an unwilling Austrian, she did it in all sympathy and kindness. Every effort was made to serve the best interests of Europe and Austria, and at the same time make of the young prince a respectable, well-trained, capable man who could be happy as a private citizen.

The little Napoleon was a beautiful and attractive child of exceptional precocity. He was very impressionable, and had an especially retentive memory and a vivid imagination, characteristics, perhaps, which had much to do with his future unhappiness. Though the child was only five when the last French influences were removed, his mind was full of the stories that had been told him of the glories of his father's court. At this time, three tutors were chosen to guide the boy's education; Count Maurice Dietrichstein, a military man whose parents belonged to the narrow social circle of the court; Foresti, a man of firm character; and Collins, who was endowed with a special capacity to approach a child's understanding.





Dietrichstein set himself the task of obliterating all impressions the prince might have of his former existence, that he might not carry with him an exaggerated idea of the virtues of a nation to which he could no longer belong. It was desired to destroy early in life any illusions he might have acquired about his political future. Dietrichstein endeavored to do this as kindly and carefully as possible, but the task proved to be quite difficult, for the prince had remembered too much. His mind had been filled by his nurse and attendants with stories of his father's glory. He was not naturally disposed to candor, and under this new influence he grew very distrustful, shy and reserved. The consciousness which he retained of lost glory and of misfortune robbed him of the ease and careless happiness which should belong to the life of a child. He grew to look upon one not French as an enemy. Every effort was made, however, to save him from being an unhappy alien in the country where he henceforth had to live. Dietrichstein wished him to assimilate, untrammelled by past influences, the education which seemed best fitted to give him happiness in the future.

It is impossible to dispute the excellence of the education given to the young Napoleon, nor the fact that it was calculated to make him a capable man. No methods were neglected to develop his great gifts, with the avowed intention that they should be devoted to the service of his new fatherland. The prince was a rather difficult pupil to deal with. He was often refractory, obstinate, unruly, not a diligent student, and abhorring all compulsion and restriction. His mind was as mature as that of a child





twice his age, and although he disliked lessons, he displayed a keen interest in everything read to him, and developed rapidly. One difficulty at first was that he was forced to learn in German. However, so well did he do it, even though unwillingly, that later he had to take pains to bring back his French.

His tutors had sought to avoid over pressure, but they had tried to lead the prince to treat his work seriously. He was made ready for the Gymnasium and passed the examinations for entrance when he was ten years old. It was the year in which his father died, and he was much saddened. In 1824 Collins died and was replaced by Obenaus, a man of considerable learning, who, with a whole-hearted devotion, gave himself up to his difficult task, the chief aim of which was to give his pupil the mental and spiritual direction which corresponded best with his birth and prematurely developed talents. He really endeavored to make a capable man of the prince. Out of lesson hours he tried to influence the development of his pupil to good purpose. The duke's imagination, which was continually at work, drew his mind away from actuality to far-away regions from which he could extricate himself only by a great effort. Already he dreamed of the great deeds which he would some day accomplish; and to him, enthusiast that he was, regular and quiet study, with its constraints, was pain and torment. However, he listened with great interest to the lectures of Obenaus upon history, statistics, and the like.

In 1829 the period of his father's history was to be given. The history professor made great preparations for this critical



task. Without passion, but with weight and dignity, Obenaus wished to relate to the prince all the events which interested him so greatly, and touched him so closely, and to dampen his ardor with the needful cool-headedness. It was unanimously decided by Metternich and the tutors to picture Napoleon to the duke as the victim of "his unbridled lust of conquest." It was desired that he should learn the story of his father as he acquired mature judgment, so that, surrounded as he was by the benevolent care of his grandfather, he would learn it in such a way that he would be consoled for the apparent losses he had suffered. His grandfather, especially, wished that the duke should revere the memory of his father, whose great qualities, like his faults, should serve the duke as an example of what to emulate and what to avoid, so that he might escape the same unhappy consequences. Metternich, though he always talked of Napoleon in such a way as to vindicate Austria's attitude, did not treat his memory from a harsh and hostile point of view. Until death, the young Napoleon cherished the glorious traditions of his father as his most cherished possession. However, this impassioned love for his father, and his dreams of his own vanished greatness came rather from the first accounts of his loyal French nurse and attendants and his own vivid imagination.

All through the prince's youth he had been zealously guarded. There were many rumors of plans for his abduction. In France time had softened the bitter remembrances of Napoleon's reign; only the glory of it was now recalled. All minds were rendered susceptible to the most impracticable rumors, all directed





to one aim, the restoration of the Empire. The incapacity of the hot-blooded Royalists did more for the Empire than all the propaganda of the Bonapartists. Napoleon's death had only served to strengthen the interest in the duke. Although in Vienna they might say there was no Napoleon, only Francis, the Duke of Reichstadt, this made little impression upon the zealous French Bonapartists who were displaying brisk activity in favor of the enthronement of the King of Rome. Many were the adherents of his party, who ventured<sup>1</sup> into Austria to work for the duke's cause. Had Metternich and Francis I been willing to support him, undoubtedly the crown would have fallen to him. The agitation in his favor was especially strong between 1824 and 1831.

The young duke was not informed of all this interest felt for him in France. Though he had dreamed constantly of ruling, he did not know that the French, too, were dreaming of his ruling. While they were making efforts to get the prince that he might be the ruler for whom public opinion was clamoring, the prince, all unaware of this, was secretly preparing himself for the throne he was hoping to ascend as the son of his father.

Since it was almost impossible for people to come into immediate contact with the duke, generally accepted opinions have been unjust to him. Those who knew him best, his tutors and Pro-

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Among them was the Countess Camarata the account of whose enterprise Rostand has modified and used to fit his dramatic purpose.



<sup>1</sup>  
kesch, are to be trusted as giving the most truthful information about him. To judge any great man is difficult, but to judge one, who, though highly gifted, filled only an obscure place in the world, and who died at twenty-one, is more difficult. He had many of the qualities that go to make a great man, but lacked the opportunity to become one.<sup>2</sup> Though he craved power, at the decisive moment he shrank from the use of such means as alone could have assured its attainment. He always found one last insurmountable difficulty, and invariably postponed the fulfilment of an important project until a more favorable time.

So little information respecting the prince reached the outer world that it was not generally known whether he most resembled Napoleon or the Habsburgs. Some thought one way, some another. However, most of his contemporaries agreed that, although in many respects he took after Marie Louise, it was easy to see the eagle glance and energetic chin of his father. His voice recalled that  
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<sup>1</sup>  
Prokesch was his best friend. In June, 1830, Osten Prokesch, a young general, recently returned from the Orient, was invited to dinner by the emperor. He sat beside the Duke of Reichstadt, and their friendship dates from that time. Each was drawn to the other, Prokesch attracted by the young duke's appealing personality, the duke attracted because he knew Prokesch had defended Napoleon's honor when all the world was calumniating him. They understood each other from the first. Prokesch became the duke's most loyal counselor, devoted companion, and sincere friend. He wrote a biography of the prince. See Wertheimer, pp. 394-395.

<sup>2</sup>  
Wertheimer, p. 442.





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of his father. Most of his immediate circle stood in awe of the fiery spirit within him and of the kindling ambition which consumed his whole frame. He was hot-headed, vehement, and possessed a quenchless thirst for action. He could not endure any limit imposed upon his way of thinking. Ambition dominated his imagination. Military glory seemed the most desirable thing in the world. He had a great passion for horses and riding. Mounted on a thoroughbred he could forget all his troubles. The troops under the prince felt instinctively that a born leader was at their head. On one occasion they broke their usual silence and hailed him with

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ringing cheers. Though he was of such lively nature, he was courteous and engaging and kind to his men, and won affection from all. Those who came in contact with the duke praised his rare intellectual gifts. His own personality carried weight, and wherever he appeared he attracted attention, not only as the son of the great emperor, but because of his own brilliant qualities.

While the duke was the center of so much interest, he was showing signs of the illness which caused his death. During his childhood there had been no apparent indications that disease

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Wertheimer, p. 443, says it is wrong to consider the duke a degenerate Napoleon because of his Austrian heredity. This is contrary to accepted tradition about the young duke, for he is generally regarded as a weakling. Wertheimer, however, presents a reasonable thesis, backed by good authorities, that the duke's highly imaginative and susceptible nature is responsible for his decline. He inherited this nature from his mother, but Wertheimer felt that his environment exaggerated it, and that a different environment might have overcome it.

2

Incident used by Rostand in l'Aiglon, Act. I, Sc. 5.





would cut him off in his youth. He had been an unusually strong and healthy child, and surprised everyone by his exuberant physique. His abnormally rapid growth later did occasion serious anxiety, because his chest did not develop in the same proportion, the first results of which appeared in 1827. The best medical advice and care were of course immediately given. Many of his one-time pleasures, fencing, boxing, riding, etc. were forbidden him. Very independent and strongwilled and much opposed to all prudential measures, he thirsted for freedom and independence. He chafed greatly against these restrictions and his governor dreaded nothing as much as his excitable temperament. His mind outran his physical powers and hindered his proper development and recovery. Everything that sympathetic interest could dictate was done for the prince that he might come through these critical years safely. His body seemed wholly incapable of keeping pace with his will. The historians generally agree that the physical weakness could have been overcome had he been willing to submit to the measures necessary to heal him. However, disease conquered, and on July 22, 1832 he died of tuberculosis.

The duke had seen very little of his mother and even in the trying months of his illness, she continued to put the interests and duties of Parma before those of a mother, so that he received little comfort from her until the very last weeks, when her mother-love finally brought her to him. However, members of the Imperial family were kind to him. His aunt, the Archduchess Sophia, took with him the sacrament of the dying and told him they must unite their prayers, he for his recovery, she for her approach-



ing confinement. On the last day, after extreme unction had been administered, the priest asked the duke if he should read or pray aloud. The duke requested prayer. He died almost immediately afterward. The Viennese openly displayed the warmest compassion. The French, though conflicting reports are given, are generally conceded to have mourned widely. The grandfather, who had really cherished the boy tenderly, wept bitterly.

The Austrians were accused of poisoning the prince. However, a post-mortem examination revealed that one lung was entirely gone and proved that he had undoubtedly died of tuberculosis. The only blame that could possibly have been attached to the physicians is that of not having sufficiently emphasized the importance of keeping the duke from over exercise and other rebellious acts which prevented his recovery. Accusations were also common that the duke's early death was due to moral excesses. Metternich was reproached with having beguiled the duke into these excesses, and for having purposely kindled passions which caused his early decline. The testimony of his best friend, Prokesch, and of his tutors belies these accusations. These calumnies were not silenced, unfortunately, but industriously circulated, despite the efforts of friends. Rostand in l'Aiglon has drawn false conclusions. The affair with Fanny Elsler, so often spoken of, was apparently pure fiction. She, herself, denied any intimate relation with the prince. The rumors were originated by frequent visits in her home of Prokesch and Gentz<sup>1</sup> who had an office there.

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<sup>1</sup>  
Gentz was a German publicist, imperial counselor of Austria, passionate enemy of Napoleon, and an instrument of Metternich, combatting with his pen the liberal aspirations of the people.





<sup>1</sup>  
Prokesch says, "Natural instincts awoke in this youth of twenty. He often spoke to me of these feelings, but in a tone of perfect innocence. This he would never have done, had he known closer intercourse with women. He was strictly moral. He had impulses, nothing more." Only two instances are known, in which two countesses, whose names have not been recorded, fascinated the young man by their beauty and amiability. In spite of this, it is difficult to make people believe that he did not indulge in excessive dissipation.

In the tragedy of this unhappy prince many mysterious influences played their parts, all of which combined to hasten his end before he could give proof of his incontestably great mind. It was not only disease that consumed his energy. His health was equally undermined by a continual struggle against destiny, his false position at the Imperial Court, and his restless yearnings for action and renown. A happy and active youth would have proved beneficial to his development. Should he regard himself as an Austrian or as a French prince? This was the discord which so powerfully agitated his soul. The struggle in his soul against destiny is the dramatic theme which Rostand so happily seized upon for his play, l'Aiglon. As a grandson of Emperor Francis whom he truly loved, he wished to be, for Austria, a second Prince Eugene; on the other hand, he was continually being admonished to remain the son of Napoleon. To emerge triumphant from such a struggle he  
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<sup>1</sup>  
Wertheimer, p. 434.



needed a stronger and more resistant nature, one not so sensitive<sup>1</sup> and susceptible.

The young Napoleon was never in the affairs of the world himself and never accomplished any great deeds, yet he is not without historical importance. All classes of society looked to him as a strong bulwark against the encroaching ruin in political life. His death caused the deepest regret. The French felt themselves face to face with a very unsettled destiny. His birth had seemed to herald a period of peace; his death was the announcement of a troubled future, heavy with evil and sinister forebodings.

<sup>2</sup> Foresti wrote, "It is far better for the duke to have died. His entire position was so artificial, so constrained, so unnatural, his character so perplexing and uncomprehensible, his dangers so many, that contentment and true happiness were impossible for him in this life."

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<sup>1</sup>  
This lack, this weakness he inherited from his mother. He was thus helpless to master his environment.

<sup>2</sup>  
Wertheimer, p. 438.





#### IV. THE DUKE OF REICHSTADT IN ROSTAND'S DRAMA.

Rostand prefaces the following statement to l'Aiglon.

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"Grand Dieu! ce n'est pas une cause  
Que j'attaque ou que je défends  
Et ceci n'est pas autre chose  
Que l'histoire d'un pauvre enfant."

This "pauvre enfant" whom he chooses for his hero is an appealing figure. He is the son of Marie Louise and Napoleon I, the young Napoleon II, known in Austria as the Duke of Reichstadt, Franz-Carl-Joseph Bonaparte. The main historical facts about the young duke are practically followed by Rostand. However, he has distorted and misrepresented historical truth to some extent, and has exaggerated the importance of the duke's Austrian heritage and of his Austrian environment in order better to produce contrast and dramatic effect. For the duke to have two such things to fight against makes his soul struggle much more acute. Rostand makes no excuse for having thus modified historical fact, any more than Victor Hugo did in Ruy Blas.

"Qu'un vain paperassier cherche, gratte, s'informe;  
Même quand il a tort, le poète a raison.  
Mes vers peuvent périr, mais sur son horizon  
Wagram verra toujours monter sa blanche forme."  
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The date of the play is 1830-1832.

2

Lines taken from those dans la Crypte des Capucins à Vienne, following the end of the drama, p. 263.





Following is a summary of the play in acts:

I. Les Ailes qui poussent. The duke is a virtual prisoner at his grandfather's court. Metternich tries to keep him in ignorance of his father's triumphs lest he dream of greatness and trouble the peace of Europe. However, Bonapartists from Paris have gained access to the young prince and conspired with him to seize the throne of France. Feeling himself not equal to the task, he puts them off for one year. He is popular in Austria, but struggles against his destiny, broods over his imprisonment, and dreams of regaining his father's power.

II. Les Ailes qui battent. The second act acquaints us further with the duke, his aspirations, and discouragements. He is struggling for faith in himself. He had been forced to learn history secretly, now is granted leave to read freely. We are introduced to Flambeau, a member of his father's Imperial army, who is the incarnation of the duke's pride and faith, and becomes his faithful ally. The time is ready for the duke to go to France after a year's preparation, but he delays again in order to get his grandfather's permission.

III. Les Ailes qui s'ouvrent. He contrives to win over his grandfather to his plans, but is checkmated by Metternich, who completely destroys the duke's confidence in himself as Napoleon's son, by conjuring up all his Austrian ancestry and pointing out his inherited weaknesses. The duke has had this opposing element to deal with from the beginning of the play, but here the clash is very decided. It is one of the most dramatic scenes in all modern



drama. By visual means through the mirror in which he contemplates his face, the duke is forced to detect the resemblance to his weakling Austrian forefathers. The act ends with Metternich master of the situation and the duke rebellious, the victim of melancholy, and physically overcome with the struggle against this Austrian nightmare. In this act we also see Flambeau. He is played opposite Metternich and works upon his imagination so much as to make him believe for an instant that the real Napoleon is before him.

IV. Les Ailes Meurtries. These scenes are at a masked ball. The plans are all laid for the duke's escape. He vacillates between complete discouragement and ambitious enthusiasm. He suddenly feels his cruelly wounded filial love reawakening because of his foolish mother's flirting, and finally consents to flight. The contrast is made effective here by the play of Metternich who is exulting over the fact that he has crushed the duke's spirit and ended his aspirations.

V. Les Ailes brisées. The first rendez-vous of the flight to France is on the battle field of Wagram. It is here that his soul rose to its greatest height when he gave way to the intoxication of his great hope and wished that he might be guided in the future only by the noblest designs. In the enthusiasm of his sublime mission, he failed to consider the inefficiency of his own self as instrument, but only the holy duty he had before him, that of reigning in his beloved France. However, in his anxiety concerning the peril of his cousin, the Countess Camerata, who was impersonating him, he hesitates and delays and is overtaken by Austrian soldiers. Alone in the night on the battle field, he has





a vision of the battle his father had fought there. He hears the groans of the wounded and dying, and is overcome with the realization of the cost of his father's imperial ambitions. This vision Rostand visualizes by actually putting it on the stage. The duke begs heaven to forgive his attempt to raise again the standard of war. He realizes in the face of defeat that he can make up for the failure to realize his dreams by dying an unforgettable death. He will die "de son âme", "d'être Autrichien", "d'avoir été tué tout bas, dans trop de coeurs."<sup>1</sup> The figures in the vision crying out, "Vive l'empereur" make him realize that all was not paid, that he must complete the price. He is the expiatory hostage and offers himself for the many who died for his father's glory

"Prends moi! prends moi, Wagram!

et rançon de jadis,

Fils qui s'offre en échange, hélas, de

tant de fils,

Au-dessus de la brume effrayante

où tu bouges,

Elève-moi, tout blanc, dans tes mains

<sup>2</sup>  
rouges!"

VI. Les Ailes fermées. The eaglet dies in the prime of his manhood, heartbroken at his failure to imitate and avenge his  
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<sup>1</sup>  
l'Aiglon, V. 5, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup>  
l'Aiglon, v. 5, p. 240.



great father; dies carrying the secret of his expiation for the sacrifices made to his father's glory.

It is from this great spiritual and physical combat of soul heritage with physical heritage aided by environment, that springs the extreme dramatic virtue of this character. To this inconspicuous figure in history Rostand has given a magnificent rôle. In the duke there is a dual personality, there exists in his life a mortal combat between two souls, between two opposite heritages, between the Habsburg weakling who has the physical attributes of his mother's family and the aspiring heir of his father's power and greatness. Physically, the Habsburg side wins, and his life ends in failure; spiritually it is not so, he dies an expiatory hostage for the sacrifice of lives made to his father's success.

Legend doesn't always alter fact. An historical personage can not be found wholly in the pages of history; his acts, the reason for his having lived, must be interpreted. That is the function of the dramatist: interpretation, as opposed to the historian's accurate recital of actual events. And so in l'Aiglon there is, if not an absolutely authentic and historical duc de Reichstadt, at least the Napoleon II of whom the people of France were dreaming, and who easily might have been. Rostand caught the spirit of the people and has given, not the exact facts, but the soul of the situation. The youth of France did not waste their ardent worship on the poor, weak being at Schoenbrunn, who slowly gave way to the ravages of disease, but rather directed it toward the son of the fallen Emperor, the heir of so much glory and so much misfortune,





and to the cause he incarnated, to the destiny which consecrated him. For though he was the son of Marie Louise, unknown and virtually a prisoner in Austria, he remained in the heart of the people, the son of Napoleon, who was the son of the people. Rostand's character is not quite true to the historical character of l'Aiglon, but at least he was a possibility and a very real reality in the minds and dreams of the people. Frédéric Masson, the best historian of Napoleon, was of that opinion: "Il faut laisser cette vie au mystère qui l'enveloppera toujours, et plutôt qu'aux induc-<sup>1</sup>tions moroses, croire à ce qu'ont chanté les poètes." Rostand has brightened the duke's pale face with the halo of a victim, a halo which he wears always before those who believe in an immortal justice and merciful providence. He has caught the soul of the historical phenomenon of Napoleon<sup>2</sup> and has increased not only our love, but our understanding of Napoleonic history.

There is no psychological development in the duke. He is the same hesitating, vacillating youth at the end he is at the beginning. His life is dominated by a strong passionate love for his father and an intense desire to rule; although he has very indefinite ideas of what ruling involves. Between him and the realization of his dreams stands Metternich, an ever present and all-powerful obstacle. The duke has two selves, one French, one

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<sup>1</sup>  
Suberville, le Théâtre Français, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup>  
Ibid., p. 66.





Austrian. The conflict lies between the two. Environment aids his Austrian self, only his dreams and ideals make strong his French self. Which will conquer? First the one, then the other has the ascendancy. Rostand lets the duke be overcome physically, for he dies of disease and of his struggle against destiny. He is a failure so far as his ideal to rule in France is concerned. Spiritually, however, he has conquered, for his soul has risen to great heights and mastered the situation. He dies an expiatory victim.

The prince is a dreamer, subject to solitary fits of sadness from which he cannot be aroused. To his mother he seems a young man wholly indifferent to everything—love, nature, music, art, beauty. This is not an entirely accurate estimate, for we see him later deeply appreciative of the beauties of nature--the twilight, the birds, even the flowers appeal to him. He is moved to quote poetry and to admire some music from Beethoven. Apparently he has habitually steeled himself against these emotions and willfully kept from appreciating such beauty.

"Je hais les sons et leur mystère;

Et devant un beau soir, je sens avec effroi

Quelque chose de blond qui s'attendrit en moi."<sup>1</sup>

From the first we see clearly defined the struggle between his Austrian and French selves. He is always on the defensive against the Austrian weakness which he has been taught to believe he has. His mother, superficial as she is, though she sees how he feels,  
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<sup>1</sup>

l'Aiglon, I, 13, p. 17.



cannot understand nor sympathize, and is only hurt that he blames her, his Austrian parent, for his weakness. He is gentle with her and tries to comfort her and soothe her wounded feelings, but the lack of mutual understanding remains.

Though the duke is being cheated of the truth about his father's history, he has found a way to learn it through Fanny Elsler, who teaches him chapter by chapter what she has learned. He resents keenly the secrecy imposed upon his father's history. Likewise he feels the constant surveillance of his every action. He knows that Sedlinsky is watching him, and rebels bitterly.

"Je ne suis pas prisonnier, mais...voilà Mais... Pas prisonnier, mais..."<sup>1</sup> Not a prisoner, but...! He is nervous and easily excited. The circumstances mentioned have developed to the extreme his naturally melancholy and brooding nature. From the books on his table we learn something about how much he broods over his lot, and of what he thinks. Such passages as the following have apparently been read often and pondered on by the young duke:

"Leur haine pour Hector n'est encore éteinte:

Ils redoutent son fils.—Digne objet de leur crainte!

Un enfant malheureux, qui ne sait pas encor

Que Pyrrhus est son maître, et qu'il est fils d'Hector."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>  
l'Aiglon, II, 2, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup>  
Ibid., I, 7, p. 24. A quotation from Racine's Andromaque, Act I, Sc. 4.





"Hélas! je m'en souviens, le jour que son courage  
Lui fit chercher Achille, ou plutôt le trépas,  
Il demanda son fils, et le prit dans ses bras:  
Chère épouse, dit il en essuyant ses larmes,  
J'ignore quel succès le sort garde à mes armes;  
Je te laisse mon fils..."<sup>1</sup>

"Courage, enfant déchu d'une race divine,  
Tu portes sur ton front ta superbe origine;  
Tout homme en te voyant..."<sup>2</sup>

These passages so analogous to stories he has heard of his own condition have made a deep impression on him.

The duke is good looking, always dressed immaculately and in the best of style. He is popular with his men, popular with the ladies, well-liked by all—in short, a social success. Though he receives many letters and much flattering attention from the ladies, he is generally indifferent to it. He is much attracted to Theresa, yet at first pays little attention to her. He is fond of Fanny Elsler and shows in the scenes with her that he is not insensible to the charms of women. At one time he puts it all aside.

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<sup>1</sup>  
l'Aiglon, I, 7, p. 24. A quotation from Racine's Andromaque, Act. III, Sc. 8.

<sup>2</sup>  
Ibid., I, 7, p. 25. A quotation from Lamartine's Deuxième Méditation, last stanza.



"Faisons de l'histoire et non pas du roman!"<sup>1</sup> At another time, at the ball, discouraged, and intoxicated by the music and his mood, he makes love to Theresa and arranges a rendez-vous with her. He makes desperate love to Fanny, too. He had come to the ball to seek adventure, to crush his Austrian lips under a burning kiss of love. He had resolved in this fit of discouragement to conquer ladies' hearts as his father had conquered nations. Suddenly he saw the empty game he was playing. A revulsion of feeling came over him, and he was his best self once more, no longer "l'être de volupté, Ce blondin d'une grâce perverse. C'est de nouveau le jeune homme ardent et douloureux."<sup>2</sup>

The prince is young, slender, and blond. He is pale and wan with the Austrian pout and frail physical build.

"Comme il est pâle. Il n'a pas l'air de vivre!"<sup>3</sup>

He is apparently in good physical condition at first, although he coughs a little. Throughout the play we see this weakness developing. His physicians are anxious. Precautionary measures are taken, but the youth rebels against direction. Every unusual effort overwhelms him physically. We see him burning with fever, fainting with weakness, and we are not surprised that it leads to death. The  
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<sup>1</sup>  
l'Aiglon, II, 6, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup>  
Ibid., IV, 7, p. 177.

<sup>3</sup>  
Ibid., I, 8, p. 25.





Napoleonic qualities which keep him in rebellion against his Austrian weakness are not invisible to those associating with him. There is in his bearing, his sparkling eye, his forehead, the fury of his gestures, the general intensity of his energy, much that reminds one of Napoleon. Rostand makes good use of this dramatic conflict of physical heritage. The physical contrast is best brought out in act III, where Flambeau, dressed in his uniform of the French grenadier, on guard in the prince's room, is surprised by Metternich, and almost succeeds in making him believe the real Napoleon lies asleep beyond the closed door. Then Metternich in a long tirade to Napoleon's hat vividly recalls him to his own mind. The scene is so dramatic that we feel almost a shock when the young prince appears on the scene. In contrast to his mighty father, who has just been so strikingly presented to our imagination, we see the trembling figure of a too slender youth, coughing and tired from having worked too long over his books, white and effeminate in his Austrian uniform.<sup>1</sup> Metternich then uses his cruel power over the duke, completely destroying his self-confidence.

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Compare Metternich's remark here with that of Hernani in the scene before Charlemagne's tomb.

"Non, il ne peut que ce soit lui qui sorte!  
Il ne va pas ouvrir lentement cette porte!  
C'est le duc de Reichstadt, voyons! je n'ai pas peur!  
Je sais que c'est le duc! j'en suis sur!  
l'Aiglon, III, 7, p. 143.  
"C'est bien. J'ai cru d'abord que c'était Charlemagne.  
Ce n'est que Charles-Quint."

Hernani, Act IV, Sc. 4.





In the famous mirror scene he shows how there lies dormant within the prince all of Spain and Austria, making him haughty, sorrowful, yet charming. He has the Austrian sullen face, the frail tapering fingers of a Spanish hand, and the eyes, the hair, the complexion, even the lips of Austria. In mixing bloods Metternich tells the duke he got the worst of Austria's, the racial melancholy and feebleness, and but very little of his father's dynamic strength. Metternich taunts him for his self-distrust, for his being introspective, languid, melancholy, so wholly unlike his energetic father. We see the duke here as Metternich makes him out to be, as the duke himself sometimes fears he is, an absolute contrast to his father and the man he would like to be. At the end of the scene he is overwhelmed with fear and doubt. He is afraid he is really this Austrian weakling and not French at all. For the minute, his stronger self is gone. With his all-consuming desire thwarted by Metternich, and his spirit broken, he falls terrified and fainting before the mirror. In this scene we have seen a painfully pathetic picture of "un enfant trop nerveux",<sup>1</sup> who has been broken by a spirit stronger than his own.

The duke has a vision which he is constantly struggling to realize. In the first act, voice has been given to his most secret yearnings. His aspirations, echoed by another, become more real. The confidence of friends and sympathizers produces an immediate effect upon him. He is like a mirror reflecting the emo-

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<sup>1</sup>  
l'Aiglon, III, 3, p. 126.



tions of those about him. Let him be with Prokesch, the Countess Camerata, or others who believe in him, and he is powerful, energetic, hopeful of realizing his dreams. Let him be with Metternich or those others opposing him, and he is immediately helpless, quails and loses all hope. Only rarely can he oppose their will with a stronger one of his own. He suffers greatly from this conflict. His physical self is being well taken care of. His physical environment is comfortable. He is lulled by music and much attention. But the one great passion of his life, the lack of the realization of which is killing him, is not granted. At times he is buoyed up by hope, at other times he is overwhelmed by discouragement and despair.

The first time we see him aroused from his apathy and gloomy melancholy is in act I, when a tailor and a dressmaker's model from Paris reveal themselves as fellow conspirators, who have come to tell the duke how in France plans are being laid for him to escape. The duke sees in this restless young man with his whole system full of eulogies on Napoleon, a counterpart of himself; both suffering, the one from being the son of Napoleon, the other from being the son of a soldier of Napoleon, the latter a representative of the restless youth of France who now glory in Napoleon's greatness, exalt his memory, and dream of his son's succeeding him. The duke is observing and sensitive. He sees here only the call of the dreamer, whose imagination has been excited by the glory of Napoleon and by the touching fate of his son. His cousin's appeal gives only the call of the family. He is inspired to hope by their plans, but he wants the approbation of the common people of France.





He must wait and work for a year. Three hundred nights more of dreaming, of insomnia, in which to grow mature. They tell him that gossip in France says that he is not young France, but old Austria, that his education is incomplete, that he doesn't know his father's history, that his mind is being weakened. Their call is just what he has been desiring, but he will not grant immediate approval of their plans.

( The duke is but clay, molded easily by whatever hand may touch him. His hope of the first act is soon dashed and he is again the moody, brooding youth, overcome by supersensitiveness and gloomy introspection. His brightness and cheerfulness in the light of expressed appreciation and encouragement and the outlook of success give way to the opposite emotion. In the second act we see him cast down—forgotten, he thinks. His home seems like a tomb. He has raged six months against his prison. All history is now accessible to him, and he has more freedom; yet he is the victim of almost complete discouragement. He fights desperately with doubts of himself which Metternich loses no opportunity to foster. His impressionable nature offers him no fit weapons to cope with this insidious enemy. This act is just a series of incidents illustrating how he vacillates from hope to discouragement. Prokesch, Flambeau, Marmont, all the personages in this act help him immensely to see the best in himself. He gains confidence and masters his weaknesses. His Napoleonic qualities are uppermost again, he is superb. He feels himself delivered "de ce doute de



moi si triste."<sup>1</sup> Pride and hope fill him, yet even in this moment he cannot suppress wholly his melancholy and be entirely happy.

"Eh bien! moi, sans pouvoir, sans titre, sans royaume,  
Moi qui ne suis qu'un souvenir dans un fantôme!  
Moi, ce duc de Reichstadt qui triste, ne peut rien  
Qu'errer sous les tilleuls de ce parc autrichien,...  
Passant qu'on ne regarde un peu que lorsqu'il tousse!  
Moi qui n'ai même plus le plus petit morceau  
De la moire si rouge, hélas! dans mon berceau!  
Moi dont ils ont en vain constellé l'infortune!...  
Moi malade, exilé, prisonnier

... mais j'espère,

"J'imagine."<sup>2</sup>

That doubt and hesitation return again and again. He wants proof that "Tout chemin mène au Roi de Rome."<sup>3</sup> His strong will and determination are only fleeting glimpses of his father's strong personality.

Incident after incident only serve to intensify the combat within the duke. He gets nowhere. Here is just that baffling, heartbreaking struggle between the two elements with first one up, then the other. Confident, he broaches to his grandfather the sub-

<sup>1</sup>  
l'Aiglon, I, 8, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup>  
l'Aiglon, II, 9, pp. 99-100.

<sup>3</sup>  
l'Aiglon, II, 10, p. 45.



ject of his ruling in France. Metternich makes him lose hope immediately. Though he bitterly and sarcastically upbraids both his grandfather and Metternich before he leaves them, his hope is crushed again. In the ball of act IV we see him again vacillating between those two emotions. At first the victim of a fear of the insanity of his ancestors, he talks in a gloomy mental anguish to Prokesch. Then buoyed up by "un sursaut corse",<sup>1</sup> he is again hopeful. He is even strong to resist Metternich and Sedlinsky, to be haughty and insolent. A new friend is gained, his courage mounts to the extent of defying all, and he goes to carry out the plot for his escape. On the battle field at Wagram he straightens up in strength and pride.

"J'ai vingt ans et je vais régner!

...Ah! mon Dieu! que c'est beau d'avoir vingt ans et d'être  
Fils de Napoléon premier!

Ce n'est pas vrai que je suis faible et que je tousse!

Je suis jeune, je n'ai plus peur!

Empereur?...Moi?...demain!...

Ah! je la sens ce soir assez vaste, mon âme,

Pourqu'un peuple y vienne prier!

Il me semble que j'ai pour âme Notre-Dame!..."<sup>2</sup>

His physical self is by this time unequal to the stress

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<sup>1</sup>  
l'Aiglon, IV, 7, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup>  
Ibid., V, 2, pp. 214-215.





it has been subjected to. He is exhausted physically, nervous and trembling, even in the triumphs of what seems to augur success. He is imperious in delivering the command that the countess, his cousin, be treated as was her due. She expressed well something of the pathos in the duke's personality when she said, "Malheureux enfant, tu pouvais être un chef,"<sup>1</sup> just after she had accused him of being a temporizer, dreamer, and cold idealist. Even when the Austrian troops come up, and he realizes that his plans are finally forever defeated, he still is able to come back to reality enough to assume command of his own regiment as they march up before him. Stiff as an automaton in the disinterested and mechanical voice of an Austrian colonel he gives them their orders as usual.

It was not only personal ambition which had been actuating the duke in his aspirations for the future. He wanted to redeem his father's honor and glory. He said to Flambeau,

"Non, ce n'est pas pour moi que tu meurs,  
c'est pour lui!

Pas pour moi! pas pour moi!  
je n'en vaud pas la peine!"<sup>2</sup>

It is on the battlefield that he catches the vision of dying in expiation for the many who made possible his father's success. It is here that his soul triumphs in that long struggle against Met-

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<sup>1</sup>  
l'Aiglon, V. 4. p. 227.

<sup>2</sup>  
Ibid., V. 5. p. 231.



ternich, and his relentless vigilance, against the weaknesses with which heredity had endowed him.

The last chapter is just a quiet relinquishment of life after a few weeks helpless battling with disease. He is gentle and resigned even though he does lament that he is praised for drinking his milk well, when he would have been praised for great deeds. He was loved by the women as "l'enfant qu'on plaint, qu'on gâte, qu'on défend,"<sup>1</sup> because they understood his battle. He would have preferred being loved as his mighty father's successor. When they hid his approaching death from him, he said simply with calm and majesty,

"On n'avait pas le droit de me voler la mort."<sup>2</sup>

He regrets sadly that history will remember him, not with a halo of glory as a strong leader, but only as a child, "le Roi de Rome." If he dies unimportant, at least his birth was important. At the last he has read to him the account of that baptismal ceremony of such vast importance and widely heralded glory. And thus he dies. A failure, a weakling? No; an expiatory hostage to live always in the glory his own imagination created for him.

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<sup>1</sup>  
l'Aiglon, VI. 3. p. 255.

<sup>2</sup>  
Ibid., VI. 3. p. 253.





"Même quand il a tort, le poète a raison.

Dors. Ce n'est pas toujours la Légende qui ment.

Un rêve est moins trompeur, parfois qu'un document.

Dors; tu fus ce Jeune homme et ce Fils, quoi qu'on dise."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> l'Aiglon, lines taken from those "dans la Crypte des Capucins à Vienne," following the end of the drama; p. 263.



## V. METTERNICH.

There is an element of contrast in all of Rostand's works. Playing opposite the character who represents the ideal, is the character who represents materialism. In la Princesse Lointaine, Rudel has imbued his followers with his ideal. The sailors have infinite faith in him. But the doctor, who plays opposite him, is a veritable incarnation of materialism. In l'Aiglon, the duke wins followers and believers in Prokesch, Marmont, and Flambeau from among those with whom he is intimately associated. Opposite him, however, is the strong contrary element embodied in Metternich.

In history, as we know, Metternich dominated Austria, even all of Europe. From the first he had opposed the spread of republican principles; he had been an inveterate enemy of Napoleon. He had played the nations of Europe against each other, so that when Napoleon lost control he was ready to assume it. It was probably he who had realized the political advantages of a marriage between France and Austria. It was he, later, who directed that Marie Louise and her son be brought to Austria and kept from communicating with Napoleon. It was he who removed all things French from the environment of the young prince, and who undertook to have him educated as a private gentleman. As the young duke matured, it was Metternich's one idea to weaken and destroy whatever power he might still have. To this end he exercised very close surveillance over him, although not so unfairly and harshly as Rostand relates.

Rostand portrays Metternich as hard, cold, bitter, unrelenting, all important and sole master of the situation at Vienna.



Every move of the duke brings him into contact with Metternich's opposition. Throughout the play he is the key to the force that keeps the duke from realizing his ambitions. There is constant friction between them. In the first act we see Metternich responsible for censoring what the duke learns in history. The duke is able to outwit him and succeeds, despite him, in learning the truth about his father's real place in Europe's history. The duke found a white cocarde by accident and learned that the power in France had changed, a fact that Metternich would have kept from him. When the French sent requests to Vienna that the duke be given to them as emperor, Metternich played with their messengers and did not kill their hope. He advised them not to let republican ideas get too prominent and held over them the threat that the duke was Austrian and might wield that power. When the duke's Austrian soldiers spontaneously gave vent to their appreciation and admiration in a "Vive Napoléon," Metternich went into a transport of anger. Yet he boasted of having the duke in the hollow of his hand, just where he wanted him.

In the second act, just as the duke's confidence in himself seems to reach a stage of certainty, we are made to feel his exasperation and resentment against the constant surveillance of Sedlinsky, who, we know, is only carrying out Metternich's orders. Metternich, too, in person, continues to make friction when he orders the duke's toy French soldiers to be carried away and to be replaced with Austrian ones. In the third act when it seems that the duke's plans are to be realized, Metternich interferes, over-





turns everything, and in one of the strongest scenes of the play, completely overwhelms the duke by forcing him to see, visually, his Austrian weakness. Apparently, the duke's confidence is destroyed.

Throughout the play there is constant struggle. The soul struggle of the duke is repeated by his actual struggle with Metternich. Is it heredity or environment that is actually the cause of his failure? Certainly, his environment, wholly dominated, as it was, by Metternich, bears its full share of the responsibility for his failure. It emphasizes just the weaknesses which he had inherited from his mother. His sensitive spirit might have developed differently had he not had such an unhappy childhood, where every detail served to exaggerate and increase his weaknesses, rather than overcome them.

In the fourth act the duke is, at first, the victim of complete discouragement. Metternich has the upper hand and exults over the fact that he has crushed the duke's spirit. Then the indomitable Corsican strength asserts itself, and the duke once more defeats Metternich's plans. He is strong again and able to continue his projects. His soul soars high, only to be brought down hopelessly low again by Metternich, who sends out the Austrian soldiers in act five. There on the field of Wagram is the final struggle. But it is only in the physical struggle that Metternich can win. He cannot control the processes of the duke's spirit, nor keep him from realizing his soul's glory as he resolves to die an expiatory victim.

Metternich holds unswervingly to his purpose throughout.



He is absolutely impersonal. Never for a moment does he waver. When the emperor shows the tender, affectionate character of a grandfather, Metternich is still only the hard, cold dictator who will keep Austria foremost by denying absolutely everything to the duke. Even in the end he still does not relent. Rostand has made the duke die from "son âme" rather than from physical illness alone. Metternich, asked if he regretted his share in that death said only,

"Non. J'ai fait mon devoir. J'en ai souffert, peut-être...

— C'est à l'amour de mon pays, et de mon maître,

Et du vieux monde, que j'ai, Madame, obéi!..."

— "Je ne regrette rien, mais c'était un grand prince!

Et quand je m'agenouille, à cette heure en ce lieu,

Ce n'est pas seulement devant l'Agneau de Dieu!"<sup>1</sup>

That is the only redeeming thing in Metternich's entire pitiless persecution of the prince.

Rostand was attempting only "l'histoire d'un pauvre enfant," not an attack or defense of any cause. But he made use of all the dramatic elements of historical contrasts, by emphasizing them, even to contorting the truth, in order to produce the desired result in his drama. The duke, just before he dies, silences Metternich by accusing him of having used him as a foil to increase his own strength and power in Europe.

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<sup>1</sup>  
l'Aiglon, VI, 2, p. 252.





"J'étais votre force, et ma mort vous désarme!  
L'Europe qui jamais n'osait vous dire non  
Quand vous étiez celui qui peut lâcher l'Aiglon,  
Demain, tendant l'oreille, et reprenant courage,  
Dira: 'Je n'entends plus remuer dans la cage!'"<sup>1</sup>

But after it is all over, Metternich has the last word: "Vous lui  
remettez son uniforme blanc!"<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>  
l'Aiglon, VI, 3, p. 256.

<sup>2</sup>  
l'Aiglon, VI, 3, p. 262.



## VI. HISTORICAL NOTES.

(Figures refer to pages of l'Aiglon.)

4 Tiburce de Lorget: can find no reference. Bombelles: (Charles René, comte de), chamberlain of the Austrian emperor, later counselor and chancellor of Marie Louise of Parma, whom he married secretly after Neipperg's death.

7 Sandor: can find no reference. Thalberg: German pianist (1812-1871). Montenegro, Fontana: can find no reference. Figaro: character in Le Mariage de Figaro of Beaumarchais, a drama now used in opera form, music by Mozart. Metternich: cf. p. 14. Vitrolles: a French statesman, associated with Talleyrand in the intrigues which were to bring the Bourbons back to the throne. He aided the attempts of Mme. Berry, the duchess. Duchesse de Berry: energetic woman, the wife of the second son of Charles X, mother of Henry V, imprisoned in 1832 when she attempted to raise the Vendée against the government of Louis-Philippe.

8 Meyendorff, Strauss: can find no definite reference.

9 Gentz: German publicist (imperial counselor of Austria), passionate enemy of Napoleon, an instrument of Metternich, combatting with his pen the liberal aspirations of the people. He was for many years Metternich's trusted adviser. General Belliard: a French general who served from 1796 through 1832 when he died. He went through the Napoleonic campaigns, served Louis XVIII, was named a peer and made an ambassador by him.

11 Fanny Elsler: a beautiful Austrian dancer of superior renown in her artistry, and in her way a veritable enchantress. Cf. p. 26 above.

12 Fouché, Joseph Fouché, duc d'Otrante: famous French statesmen entered political life at the beginning of the Revolution; was Napoleon's minister of police, during the empire. He was in regard to politics, by far the most important personage in the reign of Napoleon. He was naturalized an Austrian in 1818 and died at Trieste. Louis-Philippe: cf. p. 15 above.

13 François-Charles: François-Charles-Joseph Bonaparte, the duke of Reichstadt. abeille: the ancient Egyptians symbolized their kings under this emblem. The honey indicated the reward they gave to the meritorious, and the sting the punishment awarded to the unworthy. In the empire of France the royal mantle and standard were thickly sown with golden bees instead of "Louis flowers". In the tomb of Childeric more than 300 golden bees were discovered in 1653. Hence the emblem of the French empire. lys: lilies of the royalty. Hence, mention of the bees refers to the Empire, and mention of the lilies to the Bourbon dynasty.

14

le drapeau tricolore: blue, white, and red banner adopted





by the Revolutionists. Cf. p. 15 above.

16 Lord Cowley: (1773-1847) an English diplomat and ambassador at Vienna. Des Grèvedon et des Deveria: This refers to Style of clothing. Pierre-Louis Grèvedon (1776-1860), painter and lithographer, with a great reputation for his portraits. Jacques—Jean Devéria (1800-1857) drawer, engraver, and lithographer.

17 Violet: The flower and color were worn as a party distinction of the Bonapartes. Napoleon I was called Father Violet, also Corporal Violet. The name implied that he would return to France from his banishment in Elba with the violets. When on March 20, 1815, Napoleon re-entered the Tuileries after his escape from Elba, he found the great staircase filled with ladies who nearly smothered him with violets. Every mention of violets throughout the play brings Napoleon immediately to mind. Cf. note p. 81.

18 Les Deux Grenadiers: a well known poem by Heine (first published in 1821) on Napoleon, showing how popular he was with his men. Les Débats: French newspaper founded in 1789, today defending conservative republican policies, and publishing articles of literary merit.

19 Variétés, le Luxembourg, le Gymnase, la Gaîté, la Porte Saint-Martin, l'Ambigu, le Cirque: theaters in Paris.

20 l'Odéon: the second Théâtre-Français of Paris, founded in 1797. Henry V (1820-1883), duke of Chambord, grandson of Charles X, and only heir of the elder Bourbon branch, exiled in 1830. The Royalists gave him the name of Henri V though he never reigned.

23 Dietrichstein: cf. p. 18 above.

24 Andromaque: tragedy by Racine. (1667)

25 Les Méditations: by Lamartine. (1820). Archiduchesse: Archduchess Sophia, wife of Archduke Francis-Charles, (1802-1878), son of Emperor Francis I.

26 Werther: a novel written by Goethe (in 1774), a dramatized recital of an adventure in love, the main events of which are taken from his own life.

30 Sand a tué Kotzebue: Kotzebue (1761-1819) a German literary man who was much hated for his vehement attacks on all liberal ideas. Sand, a young student, killed him in 1819.

36 Théophile Gautier: a French poet and critic, 1811-1872.

37 petit habit vert: the uniform ordinarily worn by Napoleon I.

40 The Countess Napoleone Camarata: daughter of Elisa Baciocchi and niece of Napoleon I. She traveled to Vienna in order to abduct her cousin, where she always appeared in masculine attire. She succeeded in getting letters conveyed to him, but her undue enthusiasm for the duke's cause finally caused her to be ordered out of Vienna by the police.





45 Le Roi de Rome: title conferred by Napoleon I on his son the day he was born. It is thought that this title was given in imitation of Charlemagne, but Charlemagne was only "patrician of Rome", never "King of Rome". In the German Empire, the emperor-elect was "King of the Romans", not "King of Rome". This latter title was expressly conferred on the German kings, and sometimes on their heirs by a coronation at Milan. The German title equivalent to "dauphin" or "prince of Wales", was "King of the Romans".

46 Austerlitz: Dec. 2, 1805, at Austerlitz, Napoleon I defeated the allies in one of the greatest battles of history, thus crushing the Third Coalition.

50 La restauration du vieux calendrier: republican calendar had been adopted by the Convention October 5, 1793, and had lasted until Jan. 1, 1806, when the Gregorian calendar was officially re-established. It had been voted upon, however, Sept. 9, 1805. Treaty of Pressbourg: Dec. 1805, a very humiliating treaty to Austria; who lost 30,000 subjects and large revenues, and was cut off from Italy, Switzerland, and the Rhine. Bavaria was converted into a Kingdom.

51 Treaty of Tilsitt: signed July 8, 1807, put an end to the wars of the fourth coalition against Napoleon; re-established peace between France and Russia, and between Russia and Prussia. Obenaus: cf. p. 20 above. Rostand in l'Aiglon is false and unjust in accusing Obenaus of being an instrument for the blunting and demoralization of the prince. Nothing, neither authentic testimony nor fabled calumnies, attests to the fact that this tutor degraded himself into the servile executioner of Metternich's designs. la maison de Braganca: the expulsion of the House of Braganza from Portugal in 1807 by Napoleon was effected in order to satisfy Godoy of Spain who promised to allow the French army free passage to Lisbon.

52, 53, 54 Oct. 6, 1805: Napoleon abandoned his military projects against Great Britain, broke up his armaments along the Atlantic, on Oct. 6 crossed the Danube, and hurled his men upon the Austrians near the town of Ulm in Wurtemberg forcing the Austrian commander to surrender with 50,000 men. Murat: a French general, in command of the cavalry at this time. Soult: General and Marshal of France. Napoleon won victories at Wertingen and Augsburg. Ney, duc d'Elchingen: Marshal of France. He covered himself with glory in the wars of the Revolution and of the empire, especially in the Russian campaign. Napoleon continued this drive, and in November took possession of Vienna and resided at the Palace Schoenbrunn. From Vienna he made war on Italy.

53 Deux empereurs: the Austrian and Russian emperors.

54 Des cadavres flottant sur les glaçons d'un lac: refers to the struggle at Austerlitz when the Austrians retreating over





the thin ice of the lakes at Mönitz and Satschan lost many of their men by drowning.

57 Macbeth: reference to the soldiers who carried branches of trees to hide their approach; in Shakespeare's Macbeth, Act V, Sc. 6.

57, 58 le décret: the decree made him Duke of Reichstadt at his mother's desire in 1818. No mention was made of his father in the decree.

59 Charles V: son of Philippe le Beau of Austria and of Jeanne la Folle, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. He was King of Spain; and emperor of Germany from 1519-1558. He inaugurated the Spanish line of the Austrian House.

60 Le Prater: promenade in Vienna. Sala: Sala Baganza, the residence of the dukes of Parma, also of Marie Louise during her reign. Cf. palais de Sala, pp. 175, 176 in text.

62 Gazan: Gazan de la Peyrière, general and politician. Suchet: Louis Gabriel de Suchet, Marshal of France.

66 Sedlinsky: Count Sedlinsky was Prefect of Police in Vienna.

68 General Hartmann: the duke's military mentor extolled for his remarkable attainments in military science. Foresti: cf. p. 18 above. Plaques de Marie-Thérèse et de St.-Etienne: order founded in Hungary in 1764 by Marie Thérèse—green and red ribbon badge. Dietrichstein: cf. p. 18 above.

72 Prokesch: cf. p. 23 above. Marmont: Marshal Marmont, notorious for having deserted Napoleon. The young duke was at first very suspicious of him. But he grew more confident as he heard Marmont's flattering picture of Napoleon's life.

78 Austerlitz: cf. note p. 46. Jena: the battle of Jena, Oct. 14, 1806, resulted in a defeat for the Prussians and a total collapse of Prussian military prestige. Barthélemy's celebrated poem: "Le Fils de l'homme", Paris, 1829, fell like a bomb shell in the heated atmosphere of France where all was intrigue and conspiracy and where the mere shadow of the duke sufficed to excite fear. parle de Locuste: Locuste, famous Roman poisoner, instrument of Agrippa, killed by Galva in 68.

81 Parme:—le pays des violettes: Parma grows many violets and sends them to France where Parma violet is well known. Cf. note p.17.

84 toute la grande armée: Napoleon's army. les Mamelucks: soldiers, formerly slaves who became the masters of Egypt. They were defied by Napoleon in the Battle of the Pyramids in 1798.





85 Wagram: cf. p. 12 above. Eylau: in Feb., 1807, Napoleon won a bloody victory there from the Russians and Prussians. Essling: another bloody victory here from the Austrians in 1809. Aspern: marvelous deeds were done here by Napoleon's infantry. At first the French won; then the Austrians won; Napoleon's first defeat. The struggle for Aspern and Essling was one of the most memorable and also the most sanguinary combats in military history. le Mémorial: Mémoires of Napoléon, published by Las Cases, who accompanied him into exile, written at Saint Helena. Saint-Cyr: Gouvion Saint-Cyr, marshal of France. Molitor: marshal of France. Henri Comte de Bellegarde: Austrian general.

89 raguser: from Raguse, alluding to the treason of Marshal Marmont, duke of Raguse. The word was used commonly during the Restoration.

91 Flambeau: a character created by Rostand to represent "l'âme populaire", a soldier of the Empire. The duke was right in eulogizing him:

"Dans le livre, aux sublimes chapitres,  
Majuscules, c'est vous qui composez les titres,  
Et c'est sur vous toujours que s'arrêtent les yeux!  
Mais les mille petites lettres...ce sont eux!  
Et vous ne seriez rien sans l'armée humble et noire  
Qu'il faut pour composer une page d'histoire."

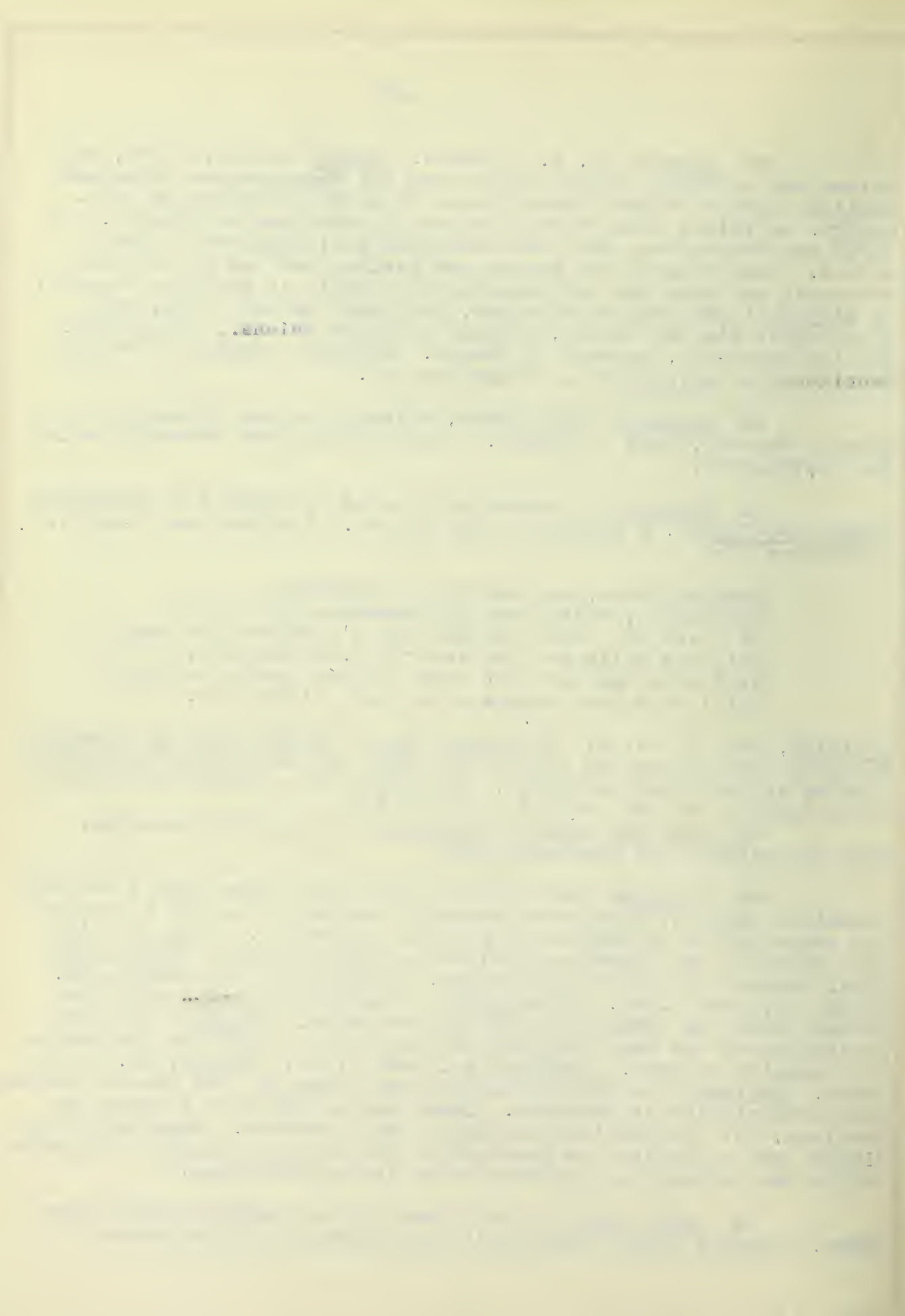
l'Aiglon, Act II, Sc. 9. ce fameux bâton, qu'on a dans sa giberne: Napoleon had a mania for giving new rank, for creating marshals with a bâton as their mark of power. The above is a common saying, that every soldier felt he could win the bâton.

92 Sous les ciels tropicaux: the Egyptian campaign. Sous les neiges: the Russian flight.

93 Marengo: the victory at Marengo in the second Italian campaign, June 14, 1800, was important because it was in a measure the consecration of Napoleon's personal authority. l'an VI, l'an XII: years in the Republican calendar, 1798 and 1804. Sans Souci: royal chateau of Prussia at Potsdam. Austerlitz: cf. note p. 46. Eylau: cf. note p. 85. Somo-Sierra: a pass in the <sup>x</sup> ~~Alpes~~ which Napoleon forced in 1808 in his Spanish campaign. Eckmühl: here Napoleon struck the decisive blow against the Austrians in the Ratisbon campaign in 1809. Essling: cf. note p. 85. Wagram: cf. p. 12 above. Smolensk: in 1812 in the Russian campaign the Russian forces were concentrated at Smolensk. There was no decisive victory for Napoleon, but the Russians continued their retreat. Napoleon's decision here to follow the Russians in the hope of winning a decisive battle was perhaps his greatest error in the whole war.

94 Saint Cloud: a park near Paris. Napoleon had a home there. Marshal Duroc: Napoleon's Grand Marshal of the Palace.

\*mountains of Spain





95 bon B: bon bougre meaning bon diable. The word is not often written out in full, but is generally designated by the first letter only. Solignac: I can find no reference to him. Fournier-Sarlovèze: an officer arrested in May, 1802, for conspiracy against Napoleon. Didier: Jean Paul Didier, French conspirator, beheaded in 1816. Var: river in southeastern France.

96 Béziers: city southwest of Montpellier in southern France. Lefèvre-Desnouettes: a French general who was drowned in 1822. Complot de Vaumur: can find no reference. Caron: Lieutenant Colonel under the first Empire.

97 Colin: Cf. Collins, p. 18 above.

98 Gobelins: celebrated manufactory of tapestry in Paris. Fontaine et Percier: Paris architects.

99 Henry IV: King of France, 1589-1610. le petit Tondu: a nickname of Napoleon II.

100 Pont-Neuf: one of the oldest bridges in Paris.(1607). Népomucène: Metternich.

101 l'ambassadeur Maison: Marshal Maison, representing Louis-Philippe.

105 une chanson de Béranger: Pierre-Jean de Béranger (1780-1857) popular song writer of France. L'Aiglon was a subject often chosen by the lyric writers of the early nineteenth century. Latude: an adventurer, lived from 1725-1806.

122 Lamennais: (1782-1854). French philosopher and theologian, passionate partisan of the Revolution, brilliant writer. Chateaubriand: (1768-1848). French writer and politician. He emigrated in 1792. Under the Restoration he was minister of foreign affairs.

124 le Dix-huit Brumaire: the day Bonaparte on his return from Egypt overturned the Directoire (November 9, 1799, year VIII of the Republican calendar).

127 Pour remettre à mon fils lorsqu'il aura seize ans: quotation from Napoleon's will. Many people were charged by Napoleon to give a number of mementos to the young prince. Although they wished to do so, the executors of the will refused to accept them for the duke. However, the duke knew his father's intentions and consoled himself by reading and rereading accounts of his father.

136 Raffet: 1804-1860. One of the best French painters of the soldiers of the Revolution and of the Empire.

139 d'Auerstaedt: Davout, duc d'Auerstaedt, Marshal of France and one of Napoleon's best lieutenants.





140 Artaban: hero of a novel, Cléopâtre, by La Calprenède, a character who was very proud. Fier comme Artaban is a familiar expression. La Calprenède, novelist and dramatist (1614-1663)

148 Jeanne la Folle: one of his Spanish ancestors, queen of Castille 1504-1555. Cf. note p. 59.

149 le Premier Consul: Napoleon I. Escorial: palace near Madrid built by Philip II (1562-1584). Compiègne: château built by Louis XV and remodeled by Napoleon. Marie Louise and Napoleon were married there. Malmaison: residence in Paris which was the home of Empress Josephine, first wife of Napoleon. Arcole: Italian city where Napoleon fought the Austrians, leading his men in person. (1796)

155 Congrès de Vérone: Metternich was a bitter opponent of liberalism. During the years of his predominance in European politics, he convoked four great congresses, the last in 1822 at Verona, where he prevailed upon the plenipotentiaries of Europe to authorize what amounted to the policing of the whole continent for the suppression of liberalism.

156 Michel: Michel et Christine, a light, unpretentious drama in one act by Eugène Scribe, (1791-1861), presented for the first time at Paris in the theater of le Gymnase dramatique in 1821. Hospodars: title belonging to the mahometan lords, a word of Slavic origin meaning seigneur.

158 Grazalcowich: can find no reference.

159 Stieger: can find no reference. Odiot: famous French goldsmith and jeweler of Paris (1763-1850). It was he who made the cradle for the Roi de Rome after the design of Prud'hon. Cf. note p. 256.

160 Machiavel: (1469-1527) publicist and historian of Florence, a great patriot and a great writer. Machiavelisme: artificial and perfidious conduct.

161 Fanchon la Mielleuse: Fanchon la vielleuse was from Savoy, born in 1737. She was well known in Paris, for she played the hurdy-gurdy at fairs. She inspired a great many comedies and vaudeville acts. The difference in spelling is doubtless due to a mistake of Rostand or his printer.

165 Rodolphe: of the Habsburg family. Rodolphe I, emperor of Germany from 1273 to 1291, founder of the Austrian monarchy. Philippe Deux: grandson of Philip I and Jean la Folle of Spain, King of Spain from 1527 to 1598.

166 Don Juan: legendary personnage who is the type of the libertine, the seducer, a man who is rich, proud, impious. César: Caesar has come to be a synonym of a great warrior, of a civilizing conqueror.





167 Don Juan de Mozart: an opera in two acts, music by Mozart, 1787. Strauss: an Austrian composer, author of many waltzes (1804-1849). tableau de Liotard: Liotard is a Swiss painter, known as le Peintre Turc because of his long sojourn in the Orient. (1702-1790).

173 Saint-Aulaire: French historian and politician, chamberlain of Napoleon in 1809. Later he served in various public offices. Thomire: Pierre-Philippe Thomire (1751-1843) a French sculptor, employed in the royal manufactories. Blois: historic French château built between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries.

177 Joséphine, la Créole: Napoleon's first wife, married in 1804, divorced in 1809. She was born in Martinique in 1763, died at Malmaison in 1814.

181 Hietzing: a village adjoining the park at Schoenbrunn.

182 carosse du Sacre: carriage used at the time Napoleon was crowned emperor.

185 Nonnes: from Bertram's superb evocation in the second part of the opera, Robert le Diable, by Scribe and Meyerbeer, 1831. "Nonnes, qui reposez sous cette froide pierre."

186 Blacas: (1779-1839) French diplomat and politician. Can find no reference to his having been at Vienna. Zichy: probably François de Zichy, (1811-1880), Austrian diplomat, counselor, and chamberlain of the Austrian emperor. Thalberg: cf. note p. 7. Josika: a novelist often called the Hungarian Walter Scott. Sandor: can find no reference.

188 Raffet: (1804-1860) designer and lithographer at Paris, especially noted for his battle designs. Charlet: (1792-1845) designer at Paris. Told the story of the Empire in lithographs. Vernet: (1758-1835) French painter especially noted for his pictures of horses and military tableaux. Guerre et victoire Soeurs: can find no reference.

191 Stanislas: a soldier, character in Michel et Christine. cf. note p. 156.

194 Mina: There was a Francisco Mina (1784-1836) who was chief of the Spanish partisans who fought Napoleon I.

201 Gotha: annual of genealogical, historical, and statistical importance, published in French and German at Gotha. Cambronne: a French general (1770-1842). In command of one of the regiments at Waterloo, he said, "La garde meurt et ne se rend pas."





202 Ratisbon: The Ratisbon Campaign (April 19-23, 1809) was won by Napoleon against the Austrians.

205 Philippe de Ségur: Philippe-Paul de Ségur (1780-1873), French general and historian.

210 Grosshofen: can find no reference.

216 Rovigo: René, duc de Rovigo (1774-1833), French general and Minister of Police under first Empire.

217 fils de Fouché: cf. note p. 12. Goubeaux: can find no reference.

218 Pionnet, Machin, Morchain, Guibert, Borokowski: can find no reference.

221 Murat: (1771-1815) brother-in-law of Napoleon, a valiant general, king of Naples from 1808 to 1814.

226 Fesch: (1763-1839) Cardinal Joseph Fesch, uncle of Napoleon, grand chaplain of the Empire.

232, 233 Davoust: (1770-1823) duc d'Auerstaedt, Marshal of France. Neusidel: village in Austria-Hungary. Reille: (1775-1860) Marshal of France, distinguished himself at Essling and Wagram. Oudinot: (1767-1847) Marshal of France. Received his bâton at Wagram. Macdonald: (1765-1840) Marshal and peer of France. Masséna: (1765-1817) Marshal of France. Lauriston: (1768-1828) Marshal and diplomat of France.

256 Prud'hon: (1758-1823) French painter. cf. note p.159.

257 Mme. Marchand: a woman of limited education who had charge of the duke of Reichstadt until she was dismissed with the other French attendants. She told the prince many stories about his former existence.

261 Madame de Montesquieu: the governess of the young Napoleon. La Princesse Aldobrandini: Les Comtesses Vilain XIV et de Beaveau: le duc de Valmy: can find no reference.





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